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A TRUE

HISTORY

OF A LATE

Short ADMINISTRATION.

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JOHN CARTER BROWN.

A Short

ACCOUNT

Of A Late

Short Adminiſtration.

A True

HISTORY

Of A Late

Short Adminiſtration.

I.

THE late Adminiſtration came into Employment, under the Mediation of the Duke of *Cumberland*, on the Tenth Day of *July* 1765; and was removed, upon a Plan ſettled by the Earl of

I.

AFTER a Suſpenſion of all Government for near two Months, and when the Cauſe, Manner, and Mediator of the intended Change had induced every one, who had been conver-

of *Chatham* on the Thirtieth Day of *July* 1766, having laſted One Year and Twenty Days.

ſant in Buſineſs, to decline accepting them, the Great Offices of Adminiſtration were given upon a Plan, *not ſettled* by the Earl of *Chatham*, to the Marquis of *Rockingham*, who had borne the Office of a Lord; to Mr. *Conway*, who had been a Groom of the Bed-chamber, and to the Duke of *Grafton* and Mr. *Dowdeſwell*, who had never been in Office at all.

II.

In that Space of Time

III.

The Diſtractions of the *Britiſh* Empire were compoſed, by *The Repeal of the American Stamp Act*;

IV.

II.

In that Space of Time

III.

The Subject Colonies of *Great Britain* were excited to Rebellion and Independence by the Connivance and Encouragement

ragement given to their Reſiſtance to the Stamp Act, and the Conſtitutional Superiority of *Great Britain* ſurrendered to their Claims by the Repeal of it.

IV.

But the Conſtitutional Superiority of *Great Britain* was preſerved, by *The Act for ſecuring the Dependance of the Colonies.*

Private Houſes were relieved from the Juriſdiction of the Exciſe, by *The Repeal of the Cyder Tax.*

IV.

By the Alteration in the Cyder Act, the Cyder Counties received the Reward of their Tumult and Sedition, by a partial Exemption from any Tax on their Beverage; and their Proportion of the Burthens of the State, together with the Addition of the new Duties on Cyder, was tranſferred to the other Counties of *England*, whoſe Beverage was already and had ſo lately been ſeverely taxed.

V.

The perſonal Liberty of the Subject was confirmed, by *The Reſolution againſt General Warrants.*

V.

The Reſolution againſt General Warrants, which was rendered unneceſſary by the Deciſions of the Courts of Law, and which thoſe who had before oppoſed now concurred in, becauſe the perſonal Liberty of the Subject was already provided for and ſecured, was propoſed from Motives of Spleen, Reſentment, and the Pride of ſuperior Strength.

VI.

The lawful Secrets of Buſineſs and Friendſhip were rendered inviolable by *The Reſolution for condemning the Seizure of Papers.*

VI.

The Security of the lawful Secrets of Buſineſs and Friendſhip, which a late Miniſter propoſed to render inviolable by the conſti-

VII.

tutional

tutional Method of a Bill, was, as ſoon as their Fears of Mr. *Pitt* were removed by his Abſence, rejected, and a Reſolution of one Houſe of Parliament, which cannot have the ſame legal Authority, ſubſtituted in its Place.

VII.

The Trade of *America* was ſet free from injudicious and ruinous Impoſitions—Its Revenue was improved, and ſettled upon a rational Foundation—Its Commerce extended with foreign Countries; while all the Advantages were ſecured to Great Britain, by *The Act for repealing certain Duties, and encouraging, regulating, and ſecuring the Trade*

VII.

The Trade of *America* was ſet free from thoſe Ties which had ever been thought neceſſary to make it advantageous to *Great Britain*, and the Taxes reduced below even their Requeſts. Its Revenue was improved and ſettled on the Foundation of Tumult and Sedition. Its Commerce with foreign Countries extended, and

Part

Trade of this Kingdom, and the Britiſh Dominions in America.

Part of the Advantages to *Great Britain* ſurrendered, while the whole was put to Hazard by the *Meaſure* of repealing certain Duties, and encouraging, regulating, and ſecuring the Trade of this Kingdom, and the *Britiſh* Dominions in *America*.

VIII.

Materials were provided and inſured to our Manufactures—— The Sale of theſe Manufactures was encreaſed—The *African* Trade preſerved and extended—The Principles of the Act of Navigation purſued, and the Plan improved——And the Trade for Bullion rendered free, ſecure, and permanent,

Tem-
porary
Manufactures
manent
extended
was retarded
vented. The
ples of the Act of Navigation were ſapped, and that Plan which had been the Foundation of our Naval Strength, abandoned and

permanent, by *The Act for opening certain Ports in Dominica and Jamaica.*

and counteracted. The *Spaniſh* Court alarmed, and the Trade for Bullion, which the preceding Adminiſtration had facilitated, was checked, and the Sentiments of the Miniſtry itſelf contradicted, by opening certain Ports in *Dominica* and *Jamaica.*

IX.

That Adminiſtration was the firſt which propoſed, and encouraged public Meetings, and free Conſultations of Merchants from all Parts of the Kingdom; by which Means the trueſt Lights have been received; great Benefits have been already derived to Manufacture and Commerce; and the

IX.

That Adminiſtration was indeed the firſt which intruſted the legiſlative Power to a Committee of Merchants, by which Means the moſt partial Informations were received and attended to, the Public Intereſts ſacrificed to thoſe of a few Individuals, and the extenſive Reſources of *Great*

the moſt extenſive Proſpects are opened for further Improvement.

Great Britain almoſt cut off.

X.

Under them, the Intereſts of our Northern and Southern Colonies, before that Time jarring and diſſonant, were underſtood, compared, adjuſted, and perfectly reconciled. The Paſſions and Animoſities of the Colonies, by judicious and lenient Meaſures, were allayed and compoſed, and the Foundation laid for a laſting Agreement amongſt them.

X.

Under them the Intereſts of our Northern and Southern Colonies were miſtaken, and preferred to thoſe of *Great Britain*, while their Paſſions and Animoſities were ſuſpended only by the Union, formed to reject their Dependency, and diſclaim the Authority of *Great Britain*; and if their Intereſts were reconciled, it was by the Sacrifice of thoſe of the Mother Country.

XI.

XI.

XI.

Whilſt that Adminiſtration provided for the Liberty and Commerce of their Country, as the true Baſis of its Power, they conſulted its Intereſts, they aſſerted its Honour Abroad, with Temper and with Firmneſs; by making an advantageous Treaty of Commerce with *Ruſſia*; by obtaining a Liquidation of the *Canada* Bills, to the Satisfaction of the Proprietors; by reviving and raiſing from its Aſhes the Negotiation for the *Manilla* Ranſom, which had been extinguiſhed and abandoned by their Predeceſſors.

XII.

XI.

The Treaty of Commerce with *Ruſſia* had been projected, by their Predeceſſors, on Terms more advantageous to *England*; and the late Adminiſtration departed only from that Firmneſs, which had conſulted its Intereſts and Honour, by *Conceſſions* to the Court of *Petersburgh*. The *Canada* Bills were liquidated on Stipulations, which, tho' accepted by the weary'd and deſpairing Proprietors, were leſs beneficial than thoſe which had been refuſed in the preceding Year. That Phœnix, the Negotiation for the *Manilla* Ranſom, did not, under them, appear brighter

than it had done in the Time of their Predeceſſors, by whom it was never abandoned; and the Public has *hitherto* ſeen nothing ariſe from its Aſhes but Smoke.

XII.

They treated their Sovereign with Decency; with Reverence. They diſcountenanced, and, it is hoped, for ever aboliſhed the dangerous and unconſtitutional Practice of removing military Officers for their Votes in Parliament. They firmly adhered to thoſe Friends of Liberty, who had run all Hazards in its Cauſe, and provided for them in Preference to every other Claim.

XIII.

XII.

They treated their Sovereign with all the *Reverence* which is conſiſtent with their declaring, that they came into Office upon his Faith, and inſinuating, even in this their Manifeſto, that they go out of Office by his Breach of it. They treated their Sovereign with *Decency*, by pledging his Name falſely to their Meaſures, and requiring his Opinion, in Writing, as to a Bill

then

then under the Conſideration of the Legiſlature. Though too timid to *remove*, they were not afraid to *prefer*, for their Votes in P——t, the young and intereſted Officers, who were attached to them, to thoſe of much ſuperior military Pretenſions. They revived, extended and exerciſed, with partial Severity, thoſe *Civil* Proſcriptions which the preceding Miniſter had endeavoured to aboliſh; and filled every Department with ſuch of their own Adherents, as had followed them in their *Deſertion* of the moſt reſpectable Part of the Oppoſition.

XIII.

With the Earl of *Bute* they had no perſonal Connection; no Correſpondence of Councils. They neither courted him nor perſecuted him. They practiſed no Corruption; nor were they even ſuſpected of it. They ſold no Offices. They obtained no Reverſions or Penſions, either coming in or going out, for themſelves, their Families, or their Dependants.

XIII.

If they had, with Lord *Bute*, no Correſpondence of Councils, it was not for want of Inclination, but of Ability; for many among them endeavoured to avail themſelves of the leaſt Circumſtance of former Intercourſe, to conciliate his preſent Favour. They became Miniſters from being thought leſs hoſtile to his Lordſhip than thoſe to whom they ſucceeded; and they *did not venture* to remove the leaſt of his Dependants. In the two preceding Years, no Election had been made, in which the Influence of miniſterial Corruption could even be ſuſpected.——

XIV.

The

The laſt Adminiſtration opened the Winter Campaign with the *Election at Rocheſter*.——In the former Period, no Penſion was granted, except to a Lady, who was the Object of *Public*, as well as of *Royal* Compaſſion, and to a Gentleman, who had amply merited it by forty Years faithful and laborious Service. In the latter Period, Five Hundred Pounds *per Annum*, for Life, was given to a Gentleman who had never ſerved at all, and whoſe Diffidence did not ſuffer him to accept an Office of 3000l. *per Ann.* without this inſuring Conſideration. A Reverſionary Leaſe of a very beneficial Grant was beſtowed on a Gentleman in very affluent

XIV. Circumſtances,

Circumſtances, extending his Term thirty-five Years, while Two Hundred Pounds *per Ann.* given to another, purchaſed a Vacancy in a reſpectable Aſſembly. A noble Lord likewiſe is indebted to M——l Indulgence, for a Grant of Timber in a certain Foreſt, worth at leaſt 13000l. Theſe are ſome of the Services of the firſt three Months; and I doubt not, but the ſubſequent Part of their Adminiſtration produced many of a ſimilar Nature.

XIV.

In the Proſecution of their Meaſures, they were indeed traverſed by an Oppoſition of a new and ſingular Character;

XIV.

In the Proſecution of their Meaſures they were traverſed by an Oppoſition of a new and ſingular Character; an

an Oppoſition of Placemen and Penſioners. They were ſupported by the Confidence of the Nation. And having held their Offices under many Difficulties and Diſcouragements, they left them at the expreſs Command, as they had accepted them at the earneſt Requeſt of their Royal Maſter.

racter; an Oppoſition of Placemen and Penſioners, *for they oppoſed themſelves*. The Public therefore refuſed their Confidence to a Miniſtry which was irreſolute, divided and overawed to a Degree of Ridicule, which was timid and preſumptuous by Turns, and whoſe Proceedings were ſtained with the various Hues of each Faction which compoſed it.—They hung, however, with the moſt intereſted Perſeverance on thoſe Offices, to the Difficulties of which they were ſo apparently unequal, till they were removed *upon a Plan ſettled by that Miniſter* whom they had courted, forſaken, and endeavoured to ruin.

XV.

Theſe are plain Facts; of a clear and public Nature; neither extended by elaborate Reaſoning, or heightened by the Colouring of Eloquence. They are the Services of a ſingle Year.

XVI.

The Removal of that Adminiſtration from Power, is not to them premature; ſince they were in Office long enough to accompliſh many Plans of public Utility; and by their Perſeverance and Reſolution, rendered the Way ſmooth and eaſy to their Succeſſors; having left their King and

XV.

Theſe are plain Facts; of a clear and public Nature; neither extended by elaborate Reaſoning, or heightened by the Colouring of Eloquence. They are the Services of a ſingle Year.

XVI.

The Removal of the late Adminiſtration from Power was to them premature, ſince it was in that Hour of Security in which they had boaſted with equal Confidence and Falſehood of their Victory over Lord *Bute*, Mr. *Grenville*, and Lord *Chatham*; *but to the Public, it was too late,* for they were in Office long

and their Country in a much better Condition than they found them. By the Temper they manifeſt, they ſeem to have now no other Wiſh, than that their Succeſſors may do the Public as real and as faithful Service as they have done.

long enough to deſtroy thoſe many Plans of Public Utility, which their Predeceſſors had formed; and, by their Incapacity, Irreſolution and Profuſion, to render the Way rough and difficult to any Succeſſors; Difficulties, which they wiſh to increaſe, if we may judge of their Temper by the Conduct of ſuch of them as could not find Favour in the Eyes of Lord *Chatham*; and particularly by the courteous Reception given, in *Groſvenor Square*, to that Noble Lord.

It would be unfair to determine, whether they left their King and Country *in a much better Condition than they found them*, upon the ſcanty Materials produced by their ſhort Hiſtorian. The other Meaſures purſued by them, and which his Modeſty hath omitted, muſt contribute to the Deciſion of this Point. They are therefore added to *aſſiſt* the Judgment of the Reader.

They *increaſed* the Eſtabliſhment, in a Time of profound Peace, 94,000*l.* *per annum*; 77,300*l.* of which was propoſed to be expended in repairing and rebuilding Ships, (while there were already more Ships than could be manned) and was demanded by thoſe who had oppoſed the Eſtabliſhment of the former Year, as too large, merely becauſe when Great Lords ſay *Aye*, a poor C——r of the Ex——r muſt not ſay *No*. The reſt of the Increaſe is the Effect of Profuſion in every Article which could admit of being enlarged.

The Savings made by the former Miniſtry had amounted to 230,000*l.* The laſt Adminiſtration neglected the Improvement of the Revenue, by ſtopping ſhort in thoſe Tracts which had been pointed out to them: When by the Acquiſition of the *Iſle of Man*, an illicit Trade, amounting to 300,000*l.* *per annum*, was prevented, it was intended to perfect and extend that Meaſure by ſimilar Regulations with regard to *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*. This Intention was made known, the Means conſidered, the Meaſure called for and omitted: Their Predeceſſors in Office had obtained from *France*, for the Maintenance of their Priſoners, the only Sum ever brought into the Exchequer upon that Account. The Demands

for

for the Priſoners taken in *Germany* and the *Eaſt-Indies*, though equally founded in Juſtice, not being ſupported with equal Vigour, have in their Hands produced nothing.

The former Miniſtry had increaſed the Public Revenue by their *American* Bills, the Duty on Gum Seneca, and the Poſt-Office Regulations, 234,000 *l.* *per annum*, excluſive of the judicious Alterations which had been made in many Parts of the Revenue, and of that Reduction of Intereſt which amounted to 130,585 *l.* in the Space of two Years. In Fact, the total Debt provided for in that Period, amounted to 6462,946 *l.* while the Funds for the Diſcharge of this were laid principally upon Foreigners, and rather promoted than impeded our Commerce. The laſt Adminiſtration *diminiſhed* the Public Revenue by the Acts reſpecting *America*, 130,000 *l.* by the Alteration of the Cyder Tax, 20,000 *l.* *per annum*. They raiſed the Supplies in the only Year in which that Province was entruſted to them, at the Expence of near 15000 *l.* above that of the former, though the Public was now in a more advantageous Situation, and the Tax impoſed for Payment of the Intereſt of their Loan (that on Windows) muſt be either oppreſſive or ineffectual. The ſame Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had ſtated the diſpoſeable Money of the Sinking Fund,

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as conſiderably under one Million, took Credit for 2,150,000 *l.* on that Fund, deteriorated as it was by his Syſtem of Finance.

The Improvements which the former Adminiſtration had made in the Revenue, would have enabled them to give that Relief to the landed Intereſt, to which their ſteady Acquieſcence, under the neceſſary Burthens of the State, had ſo well entitled them. By the laſt Adminiſtration, the Hopes of this Relief were entirely cut off, and the landed Gentlemen were partially ſacrificed to the Intereſts of Traders and Coloniſts.

Upon the whole, the Nation, which in the preceding two Years had been benefited 200,000*l.* *per annum*, was impoveriſhed by the laſt Adminiſtration, (if we add their Increaſe of Expence to their Diminution of the Income) in the Space of one Year, 240,000*l.* which is the Intereſt of EIGHT MILLIONS! The Public, which had beheld them advanced to Office with Surprize, felt a warm Indignation at the Oppreſſions which it had ſuffered from their Meaſures, and ſaw with the juſteſt Pleaſure, a Part of them, at leaſt, deprived of the Power of augmenting the Diſtreſſes of the State. The Nation has too ſeverely felt the Effects of their Incapacity and Profuſion, either to wiſh for, or to ſupport Succeſſors of ſimilar Principles and Abilities.

F I N I S.

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